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ABSTRACT

A microanalysis of social interaction in a preschool classroom revealed ways in which children and teachers "co-constructed" the rudiments of school culture during the first three days of school. Findings are based on videotapes, teachers' notes, and daily field notes taken by a group of observers. The three domains of the establishment of school culture identified involved ways to establish: (1) the use of materials and space; (2) procedures, formats, and motifs; and (3) roles and relationships. A total of 1,570 microevents, called School Culture Actions and Messages (SCAMs), were coded into a matrix of the 3 domains and 16 inductive categories. Categories were arranged on a continuum that began with teachers' relatively proactive and independent contributions, moved through responsive SCAMs which were yoked to social context, and then moved to shared control between teachers and children. From this midpoint, the continuum moved through responsive child SCAMs to independent control by children. Discussion characterizes the children as seekers of meaning and the teachers as their guides. Teachers and children have proactive and responsive positions in a complex "co-construction process." The early days when children and teachers are intensely involved in learning to live together is contrasted with a later time when children's social focus turns to their peers. The appendix provides a definition of SCAMs and an outline describing teacher, shared, and child SCAMs. (RH)

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The Honeymooners: Teachers and Children Co-construct the School Culture of a Preschool[1]*

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Introduction

The ethnographic analysis I'm going to present today examines how teachers and children, together, begin to establish life in a preschool classroom. It is part of a larger yearlong preschool ethnography which has involved the collaborative efforts of three faculty members and now two cohorts of graduate students. The co-authors of this paper are faculty members David Fernie and Rebecca Kantor and doctoral students James Scott Jr., Paula Schwarz and John Kesner from Ohio State University and faculty member Elisa Klein from the University of Maryland.

In this work, our original goal was to reveal how young children become students in a first school setting. As we began to collect data, we soon realized that in order to understand this process, we needed to widen our lens in order to gain an indepth understanding of the whole of everyday life within this single preschool setting. As John Gumperz and others have noted, ethnographic analysis tends to move back and forth between a

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broad understanding of everyday life and more focussed analyses which, in turn, inform the "whole" (Green, Kantor, & Rodgers, 1990; Gumperz, 1986).

At the broad level, we continue to think about the whole of a classroom as a dynamic configuration of school culture and peer culture realms (See Figure 1, CONFIGURATION OF SCHOOL CULTURE AND PEER CULTURE). Guided by a line of classroom inquiry begun by Philip Jackson (1960) and Cazden, John, & Hymes (?), and evident in the sociocultural research of Judith Green (Green & Harker, 1982; Zaharlick & Green, in press), David Bloome (Bloome, Puro, & Theodorou, 1989), Fred Erickson (1982) and others, we went into the classroom expecting to find an evident school culture - a patterned set of routines, behaviors, artifacts, and values concerned with educational aims and the demands of group living - a shared construction created by a particular group of teachers and children (Fernie, Kantor, Klein, Meyer, & Elgas, 1988). Some of our focussed analyses examine aspects of school culture: For example, Donna Williams (1988) revealed how young children learn the social and task requirements of a structured, daily, small group experience, ultimately balancing their individual rights with their responsibilities to the group; and Kantor, Elgas, & Fernie (1989) demonstrated how these children gradually learn to have group conversations at a daily large-group circletime.

Building on the work of Bill Corsaro we also expected to find a vibrant peer culture that is, a set of routines, behaviors,

artifacts, values and concerns - a social world constructed and shared by a group of children (Corsaro, 1985; 1988). In this realm, Peg Elgas (Elgas, Klein, Kantor, & Fernie, 1988) identified a stable "core group" of players who were salient in the classroom and how they used objects to serve their peer culture dynamics. We continue to be intrigued by the ways in which these two realms intersect in the classroom we are studying. For example, an in-process analysis by Sandy Miller shows how literacy, a prominent school culture concern, is appropriated by this core group to enhance their friendship hierarchy and to protect what Corsaro (1985) calls "interactive space" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 122).

Today, we will talk about how children and teachers co-constructed the rudiments of school culture during the first three days of school. It is a micro-analysis based on 16 1/2 hours of videotapes, teachers' retrospective notes, and daily fieldnotes taken by a group of participant observers.

PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS

I'm going to talk about procedures and findings together because the traditional linear format doesn't fit ethnographic research processes, which are recursive, reflexive, and cyclical. Instead, I'll talk about three phases of working with the data - each revealing a layer of findings and, at the same time, provoking a more refined examination at the next layer. One of the goals here is to depict a trail of sorts, one created by the

steps we took with and through our data.

In general, we followed the developmental research sequence suggested by Spradley (1980). This involves conducting multiple systematic reviews of all videotapes and fieldnotes to explore sociocultural/interactional processes.

First, we analyzed the cultural meanings of interactions according to Spradley's semantic relationships. Figure 2 shows a sample of Spradley's semantic relationships, which guide interpretation of cultural meanings (with examples from our data summarized and interpreted in this way). Conducting this level of analysis led us to the assertion that school culture was the first realm of classroom life to be established and, conversely, that the viable and robust peer culture which we knew eventually characterized this classroom had yet to be established.

With this assertion to guide us, we reviewed the data in a second phase of analysis to determine "ways to establish school culture" (see Table I). Under this organizing domain, three more specific domains emerged: (1) Ways to Establish Use of Materials and Space; (2) Ways to Establish Procedures, Formats, and Motifs; (3) Ways to Establish Roles and Relationships (see Table I).

In the process of working through a detailed analysis of the corpus of data using these three domains as a framework, we were able to confirm our guiding assertion that the first focus of the classroom participants was on the establishment of school culture. This focus was recurrent and evident across all three

domains and in virtually all contexts over the first three days. Such an assertion about a culture which has this high degree of generality across multiple domains is what Spradley (1980) calls a "culture theme" (Spradley, 1980, p. 140).

At this point, we conducted a final and more detailed level of analysis addressed at length in this paper. During this third phase of analysis, we examined the videotapes once more, creating 16 inductive categories across the three domains to reflect the co-construction of school culture during these first three days. We worked in two pairs (one senior, one junior researcher in each pair) to identify all the microevents which contributed to the co-construction of school culture. We call these microevents "SCAMs", an acronym for "School Culture Actions and Messages".

We identified 1570 SCAMs over these three days, coded into a matrix of the three domains and 16 inductive categories (see Appendix I for full definitions of categories and subcategories). Each pair of coders conducted an interrater reliability on approximately 25% of the data, drawn from all classroom events and all three domains. Disagreements were resolved either by the pair or in a group discussion among all four raters. The interrater reliabilities of the two pairs were 95% and 86%.

These data and categories can be placed along a continuum according to a Locus of Control dimension of contrast, with teachers on one end and children on the other (see Figure 3). On the left, it begins with teachers relatively proactive and independent contributions, such as the planned event of a puppet

show. It shades through responsive SCAMs which are yoked to social context (e.g., teachers assistance provided in response to obvious or stated needs of children), to an interdependent middle of shared control between teachers and children. From this midpoint, it moves back through responsive child SCAMs to independent control by children at the right. This mirror-like continuum helps us to visualize and to organize the relationships among participants' actions during this period.

Beginning at the left hand side of the continuum, here is a brief description of each SCAM Category:

1) Planned Events, which are events, experiences, routines, or activities planned by the teacher for the purpose(s) of communicating about life at school (e.g. the puppet show) and/or of facilitating life at school (e.g. the cleanup bells).

2) Moving toward the right, teachers' Direct Communications are defined as verbal messages from the teacher to a child or to children which directly communicate meaning about some aspect of school culture. These Direct Communications are further divided into 9 subcategories: Directives, Explanations and Elaborations, Questions, Reminders, Giving Choice, Declarations, Invitations, Acknowledgements, and Assertions.

3) Teacher Invoking Other Experiences is the next teacher SCAM. These are verbal messages from the teacher which make reference to a school or outside-school experience (e.g.,

"Remember the song we sang last year...").

4) Demonstrations are actions by the teacher which show or demonstrate an aspect of school life, e.g., how to use a material.

5) A fifth teacher SCAM is Using Social Resources. Here, teachers use strategies which enlist children as an aid or support in establishing school culture (eg. "John, could you show Elizabeth where we keep the scissors?").

6) An example of the teacher providing Assistance, the next teacher SCAM, occurred during a playdo activity, when the teacher retrieved scissors from the shelf for a child who wanted them. In terms of specific subcategory, this is an example of the teacher providing Material Assistance. Other subcategories are Physical, Verbal, and Mediational Assistance.

7) Seize the Moment, the next teacher SCAM, is embedded in some other interaction during which the teacher, in an opportunistic fashion, communicates about school culture. The teacher uses the opportunity of a present interaction or situation to build, implicitly or explicitly, school culture meaning or understanding. An example of the Seize the Moment category also occurred in the playdo activity. A boy looks at the playdo activity and announces, "I don't want to be there," and the teacher responds with more than "Okay,": she seizes the moment to add "you can play anywhere you want!", revealing a general norm for the freeplay period.

This category was further divided into 3 subcategories: Divergences, i.e., statements of guidelines and expectations made in response to children's actions which move or extend in a different directions from the immediate context (such as the prior example); Elicited Guidelines, which are statements of guidelines and expectations made in response to children's actions; and Acknowledgements, in which a teacher verbally highlights a child's action or an aspect of a situation.

8) Doing Life is the midpoint of our continuum, a dividing line between the teacher SCAMs to the left and the children's SCAMs to the right. These SCAMs identify elements of school culture which are evident from the beginning without being explicitly discussed, such as casual talk during snacktime. We speculate that they are carried over from other activities isomorphic to the specific school event: In this case, perhaps from conversations at mealtimes at home.

9) Actions Eliciting Guidelines is the ninth SCAM and the first on the children's side of the continuum. These are actions or messages by a child or children which evoke "seize the moments."

10) Corresponding to the Assistance category on the teacher side, our tenth SCAM is the child or children Seeking Assistance, defined as verbal or nonverbal requests for help or aid made by a child to a teacher. As with the teacher Assistance SCAMs, this category is subdivided into requests

for Physical, Verbal, Material, or Mediational Assistance.

11) The eleventh SCAM category along our continuum is the Children's Using Social Resources. Similar to the teachers' SCAM of the same name, children strategically enlist teachers or other children as aids or support in understanding or affirming school culture. Examples of this would be imitating the actions of another child, and clustering around adults during activities.

12) Providing Assistance is the next SCAM on our continuum. It is simply help or aid provided by children.

13) In Attempts to Stretch the Range of Action, children diverge from or go beyond the teachers' stated expectations, as conformed to by most of the group.

14) Corresponding to the teacher side, children's Invoking Other Experiences is a verbal message from a child or children which makes reference to a school or outside school experience.

15) Direct Communication is defined as a verbal message from the child to teachers or other children which directly helps others make meaning of school culture. This SCAM is divided into 6 subcategories: Assertations, Questions, Solitary Speech, Factual Statements, Permission Asking, and Offering Suggestions.

16) Exploring the Environment, the final SCAM on our continuum, is defined as actions by a child or children to explore the objects, materials, or space in the school environment.

Over these three days, they "sampled" much in this new and exciting environment, briefly touching, exploring, and then moving onto something else.

Circletime and the Structured Event Pattern

At this point, we would like to show you a videotape segment taken from the second day of school to illustrate the quality of daily life in this beginning phase, and to illustrate how the domains and SCAMs analyses helped us to interpret and to represent what happened.

To set context a bit, only half the children were present (the other half attended day 1 and the full class convened on day 3). You'll be seeing circletime I, the topic of a prior microanalysis within the project (Kantor, Elgas, & Fernie, 1989). This daily event occurs immediately after the children come into the room from the outdoor playground to the indoor play space. It is the place where children and teachers sing songs, have discussion, and learn about group conversation.

On this day, the teacher has planned an event using a puppet to represent a shy child, thus reassuring children that their shy feelings were normal and that their needs would be met. (At this point in the presentation, a segment of videotape was shown.)

Now let's take a closer look at this event using the category/domain matrix. Table I shows SCAMS across the three days of circletime I, with Teacher SCAMs on the vertical axis and domains on the horizontal axis. At the beginning of circletime I, you may have noticed the teacher's explanation about the

contents of circletime I. This is coded as a Direct Communication within the domain of Ways to Establish Procedures, Formats, and Motifs (abbreviated as "Procedures"). The explanation of the bathroom location is a Direct Communication within Ways to Establish Use of Materials and Space (abbreviated as "Materials"). And under the domain Ways to Establish Roles and Relationships, the whole puppet show was coded as a Direct Communication, in this case, that the teacher is someone who will help you meet your needs in this new setting. Reflecting on the interactions we just saw, it is clear that the teacher has an explicit agenda to actively orient the children -- to help them feel comfortable and to introduce them to procedures and motifs of the program.

More generally across the 3 days of circletimes, we found that the teachers' most frequent strategy was Direct Communication (43/95 SCAMs), and about 2/3 of this talk (29/43) was about procedures (see Table I). Although one might expect this talk to communicate procedure didactically, only one-sixth of these Direct Communications took the form of Directives. These Direct Communication SCAMs are very visible and might lead one to believe that it is the teacher who establishes school culture -- laying it out for children to learn (this is the assumption underlying the traditional position that school socialization is a transmission of norms and procedures from teachers to children). In fact, however, approximately two-thirds of these communications provide explanations or give

choice to the children rather than merely lay out procedures to be followed.

At the same time, there is an impressive range of other Teacher SCAMs during circletime which complement the frequent use of Direct Communications. The overall picture we get of the teacher's interactional work at circletime is one of facilitative guidance. Much of her work falls at the proactive end of the continuum (63 of 95 Scams). But teachers also are responsive, meeting children's needs (Assistance, 15/95 SCAMs) and using children's actions and messages as a departure point for explaining guidelines (Seize the Moment, 11/95). In other words, circletime I is a context in which teachers display the full range of proactive and responsive SCAMs.

For their part, the children's efforts are also focussed on procedure (see Table 2). A third of their contributions are in the proactive Direct Communications category, and many of these communications take the form of Assertions (for example, bidding for turn to talk or to choose the next song). In addition, they Offer Suggestions and Ask Questions, which makes sense when viewed in tandem with the teacher's Frequent Offering Choices and Explanations. Even during these first days, the children and teachers are interacting in a complementary and reciprocal fashion. Another third of the children's actions or messages at circletime is in the Invoking Other Experiences and Using Social Resources categories. These strategies can be interpreted, respectively, as attempts to link this new

experience to other familiar ones, and to use familiar strategies (e.g., imitating one's peers) to make sense of a new kind of interactional setting.

The remaining third of the children's actions were categorized as Attempts to Stretch the Range of Action and Exploring the Environment. In these actions, children may leave the circle to explore nearby materials or areas, such as the computer, the housekeeping corner, and the climber. Teachers retrieve and usher the children back to the circle, often explaining the guidelines pertaining to how and when those materials may be used and emphasizing the need to stay at circle.

In sum, while the children are physically at circle, they make sense of the new circle experience through their prominent use of Direct Communications, Invoking of Other Experiences and Using Social Resources (2/3 of all children's SCAMs). The remaining third of their interactional efforts are spent wandering away from circle to interesting materials in their view, which elicits a teacher's explanation of the relevant guidelines and limits.

The example of the circletime I event is illustrative of one of the two general patterns of interaction which was visible across these days--a "structured" pattern evident in the more school-like daily contexts of each day (two circletimes and two small group activity times).

In this more structured pattern, teacher work is more evident than child work in its quantity: teacher's work

outnumbers children's work in about a 2 to 1 proportion across these contexts (see Table 3). Also within this pattern, most of both teachers' and children's SCAMs fall at the more proactive end of the continuum, with proactive SCAMs outnumbering responsive SCAMs, again in about a 2 to 1 proportion.

Table Activities in Freeplay and the Open Event Pattern

In the next videotape segment, you will see an illustration of the second interactional pattern within our data, the "open" pattern. In this example, children and teachers are working together at a playdo activity table during indoor free play time -- an hour long segment in the schedule when children can choose among all the available activity centers in the room, including blocks, woodworking, housekeeping, sandtable, computer and writing station, etc. (At this point in the presentation, a second videotape segment was shown.)

In this playdo example, we see the teacher's proactive and responsive efforts -- she models uses of the playdo material (Demonstration) and she explains the procedure (Direct Communication). She interacts as co-explorer and conversational partner, and she provides materials to meet children's implied or stated needs (Assistance). At the same time we see the children taking both responsive and proactive actions which contribute to the establishment of school culture: they ask for approval in Direct Communications ("Hey teacher, look what I made."), they seek proximity to, co-play with, and imitate the teacher (Using Social Resources), they observe each other, and they ask

questions (Can I be messy?).

Across similar Table Activities during the 3 days, the great majority of Teacher Scams (91/122) and Children's Scams (96/113) fell within the domain of Ways to Establish the Use of Materials and Space. This contrasts sharply with circletime I content, which focussed on Ways to Establish Procedures, Formats and Motifs (see Tables 4 and 5).

The Table Activities are part of this second SCAMs pattern, a pattern evident during the more familiar events of the day, freeplay and snacktime. Table 3 shows the Open Pattern as it occurred in 5 freeplay subcontexts in different locations of the room (including the Table Activities), and during snacktime.

When compared to the Structured Pattern, two shifts in the interactional work are evident in the Open Pattern. The first is the greater prevalence of responsive SCAMs for both teachers and children. For teachers, the 2 to 1 proportion of proactive to responsive SCAMs during structured events shifts to a slight imbalance in favor of responsive SCAMs during open events (163 responsive versus 145 proactive). As teachers interact in these contexts, Acknowledgements ("What a great playdo snake you're making.") are a well-used way to Seize the Moment, and Assistance also characterizes teachers' efforts. For children, too, a shift occurs toward more balance between proactive (164) and reactive (127) SCAMs, with Seeking Assistance and Using Social Resources especially prominent.

The second shift concerns the relative quantity of Scams

contributed by children and teachers. There is an almost equal sharing of interactional work (51.4% teachers, 48.6% children) across the open pattern events, contrasting with the 2 to 1 teacher predominance during the structured activities.

Discussion and Summary

One headline here is that the interactional work in establishing the school culture is generally shared by the teachers and the children. In other words, the school culture is co-constructed through the proactive and responsive actions and messages of the participants.

Figure 4 shows both the co-constructed nature of early school culture in this setting and the range and relative prevalence of interactional strategies used by both teachers and children (in overall percentages in each category collapsed across days and domains).

In our analysis and interpretation of the establishment of school culture, we characterize the children as seekers of meaning and teachers as their guide. Both have proactive and responsive (though not identical) positions in a co-construction process. Teachers do arrive with an educational agenda to establish the rudiments of school culture. They wish to create a friendly and accepting environment. They wish to establish ways to monitor the flow of the group and, simultaneously, to attend to the individual needs of the children. Further, they seek to orient children toward long-term curricular motifs. So, one of the primary goals for the teacher during those first days is to

guide children toward the establishment of a school culture--a complex, yet rudimentary orchestration of individual, social, curricular, and procedural elements.

Unlike the teachers, the children do not arrive at school with an explicit educational agenda, yet they seek actively to make meaning of this new environment. The materials are new and exciting to them, the peer group is one of the largest they have ever encountered, the adults are friendly but not known to them. As they explore the physical and social setting, as they manage the separation from home, and as they seek to have their needs met, they too, actively (but unknowingly) participate in the establishment of school culture in the classroom. This analysis clearly demonstrates that children are not socialized passively to classroom life. Rather, children and teachers together, yet each with their own unique contribution, construct a way of life for the classroom.

Overall, we were impressed with the complexity and diversity of the ways in which school culture was established. Morever, we were impressed with how quickly things coalesced into a predictable pattern of daily life. In trying to capture the essence of this brief period, we likened it to a kind of honeymoon period in the classroom.

Why characterize these first few days as a kind of honeymoon period? To begin with, the social focus in the classroom was predominately on the teacher-child relationship (rather than on peer relationships), as if the classroom was made up of multiple

sets of teacher-child couples. These relationships involved a focused attention to each others' needs. Further, these first few days were marked by accommodation and compromise as members of the classroom learned to balance their own needs with the demands and duties inherent in living together. At the same time, there was a virtual absence of testing and conflict between teacher and children. These interactions looked careful and tentative -- like relationships do while people are in the process of building trust. These interactions looked caring, as relationships do when people have a commitment and a stake in making things work. In summary, their relationships suggests those of honeymooners -- intensely engaged in a first, distinctive, and important phase of learning to live together.

To illustrate that this period is unique, we'd like to fast forward you to the time when children's social focus has turned to their peers and when a viable and robust peer culture is evident. We will leave you with this last piece of videotape, taken from the block corner, during free play, on the sixteenth day of the school year. We think you'll agree with us that for better or for worse, the honeymoon is over.

(This text is followed by a videotape segment illustrating later peer culture dynamics within this classroom, and a related analysis by Peg Elgas.)

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Figure 1: Configuration of School Culture and Peer Culture

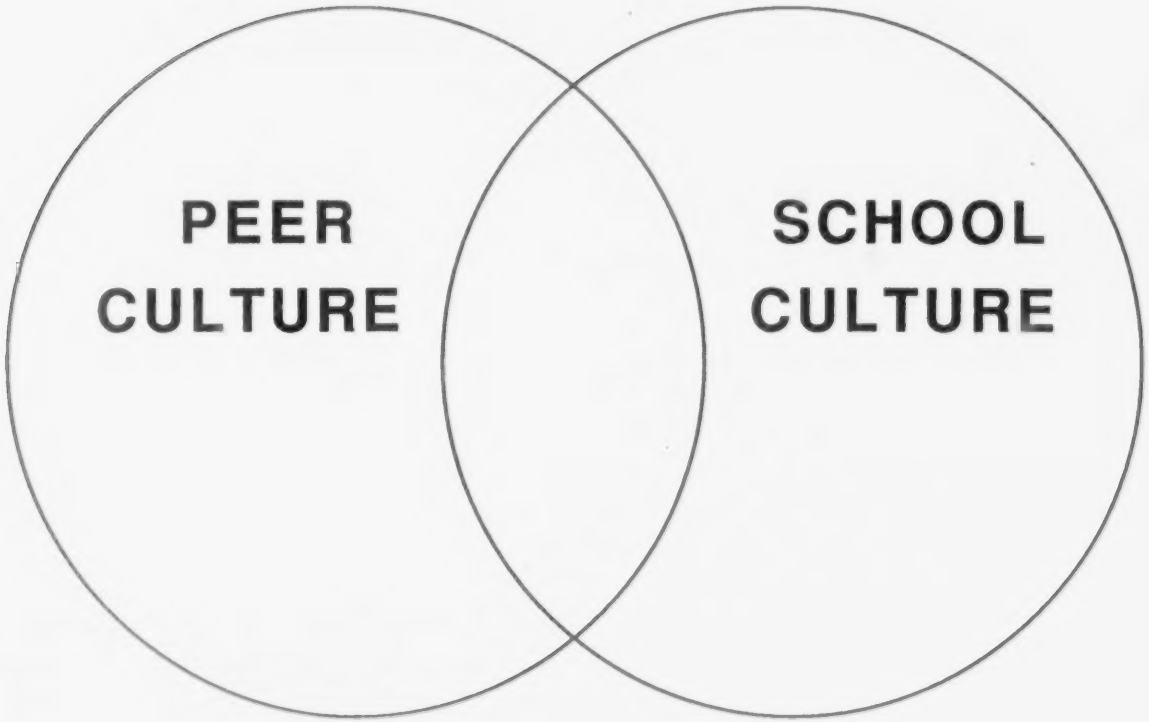

Figure 2: DOMAIN ANALYSIS

(From J. Spradley, 1980, *Participant Observation*)

SAMPLE RELATIONSHIPS	FORM	EXAMPLES FROM OUR DATA
Location for action	X is a place for doing Y.	Circle time is a place to explain procedures.
Means-End	X is a way to do Y.	Co-playing is a way for teachers and children to do playdough.
Attribution	X is an attribution (characteristic) of Y.	Seeking proximity to adults is an attribute of children on the first day.

Figure 3. **LOCUS OF CONTROL CONTINUUM**

(N=1550) SCHOOL CULTURE ACTIONS AND MESSAGES (SCAMs)

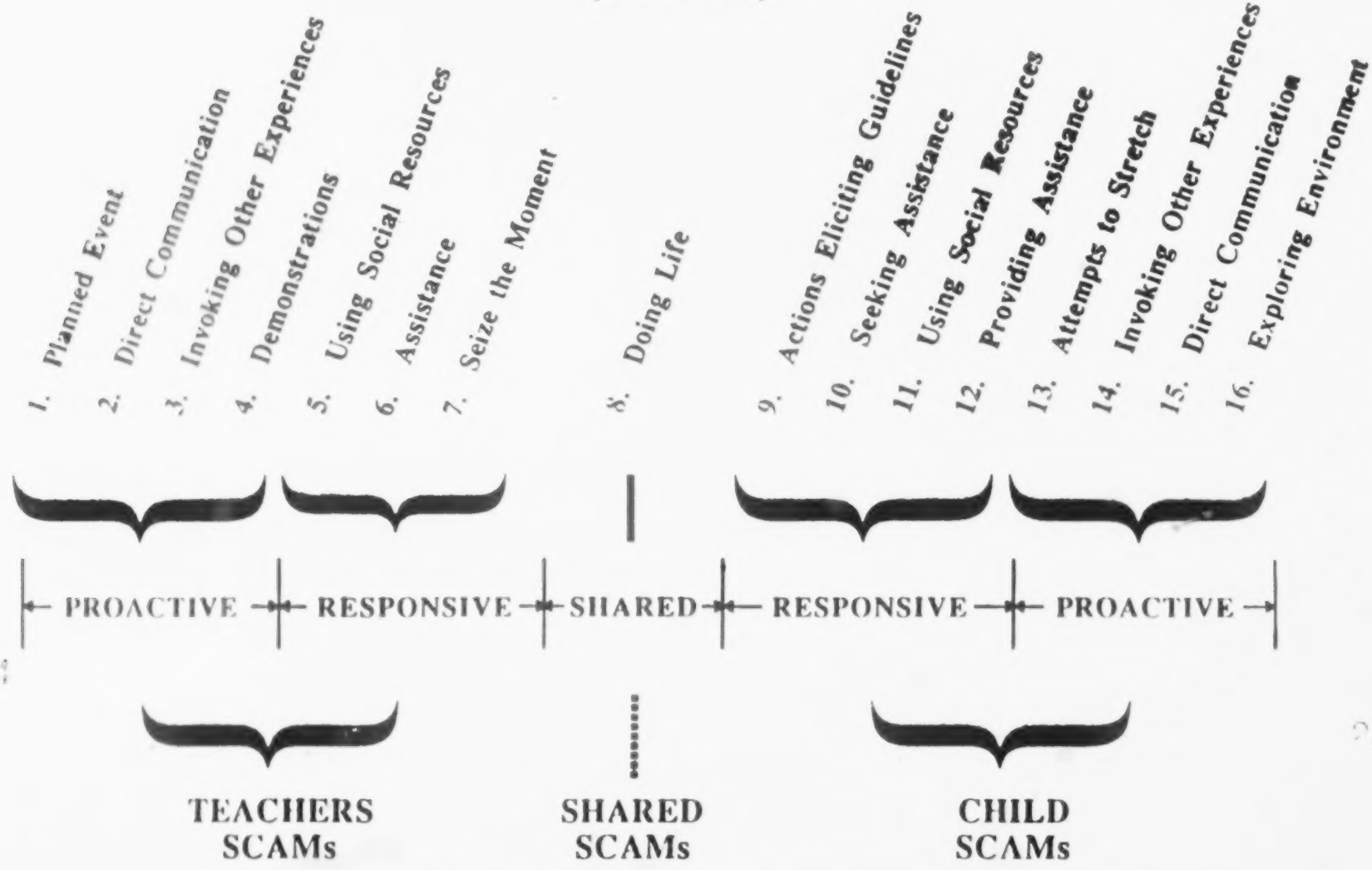

Figure 4. **LOCUS OF CONTROL CONTINUUM**

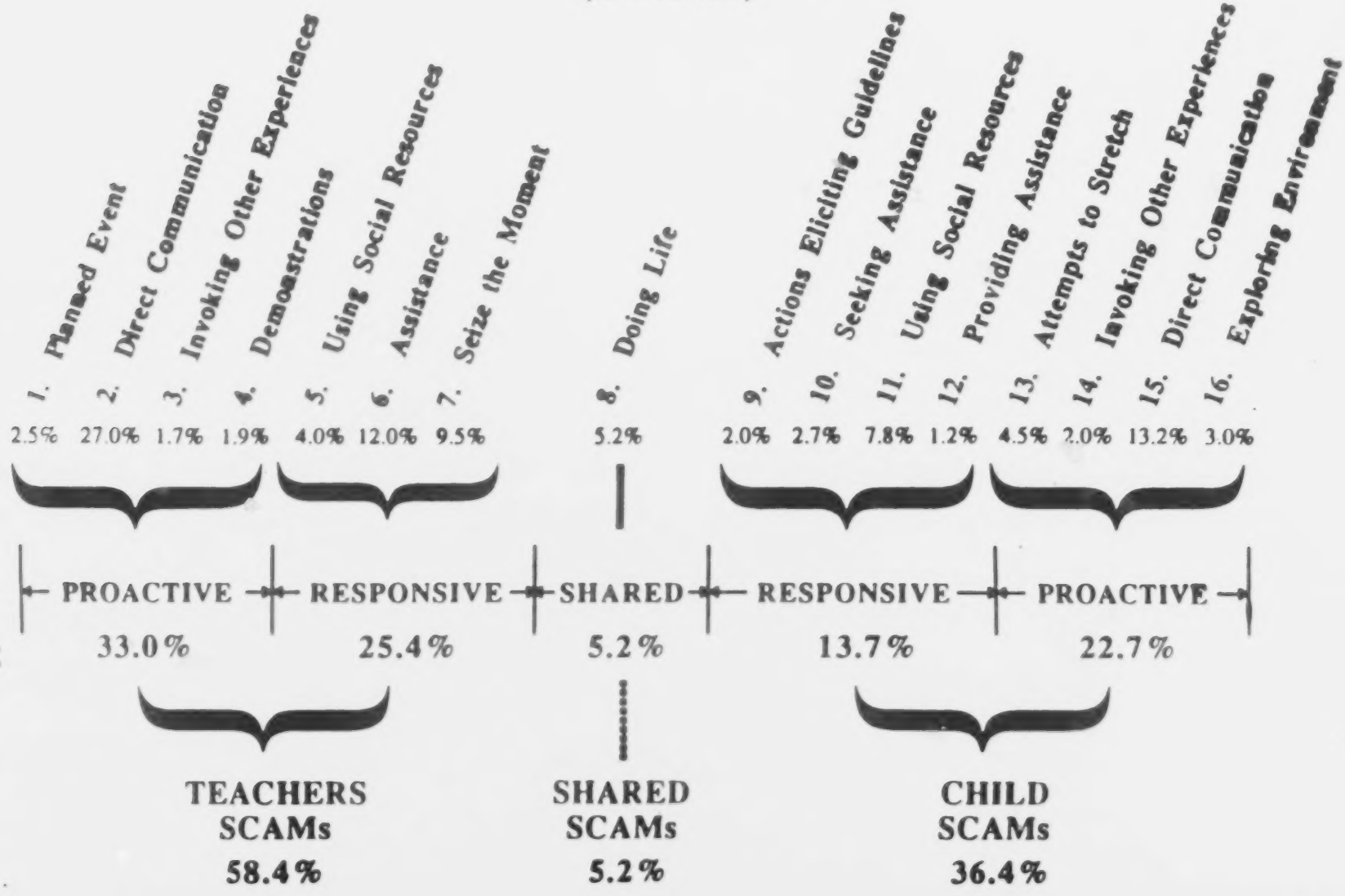

Table 1. Frequency of Teacher SCAMs During Circle I

CATEGORIES	MATERIALS	PROCEDURES	ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS	TOTAL
		PROACTIVE		
1. Planned Event	1	12	0	13
2. Direct Communication	7	29	7	43*
a. Directives	0	7	0	7*
b. Explanations	5	14	2	21*
c. Questions	0	0	0	0
d. Reminders	0	1	0	1
e. Giving Choice	1	5	3	9*
f. Declarations	1	0	0	1
g. Invitations	0	1	2	3
h. Assertions	0	1	0	1
3. Invoking Other Experiences	0	3	0	3
4. Demonstrations	0	3	1	4
Subtotal	8	47	8	63
		RESPONSIVE		
5. Using Social Resources	0	5	1	6
6. Assistance	4	6	5	15*
a. Physical	1	3	4	8
b. Verbal	2	2	1	5
c. Material	1	1	0	2
d. Mediational	0	0	0	0
7. Seize the Moment	4	7	0	11*
a. Divergencies	3	3	0	6
b. Elicited Guidelines	0	3	0	3
c. Acknowledgements	1	1	0	2
Subtotal	8	18	6	32
Teacher Total	16	65*	14	95*
8. Doing Life	0	3	0	3

Table 2. Frequency of Child SCAMs During Circle I

CATEGORIES	MATERIALS	PROCEDURES	ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS	TOTAL
8. Doing Life	0	3	0	3
		RESPONSIVE		
9. Actions Eliciting Guidelines	0	2	0	2
10. Seeking Assistance	0	0	1	1
a. Physical	0	0	1	1
b. Verbal	0	0	0	0
c. Material	0	0	0	0
d. Mediational	0	0	0	0
11. Using Social Resources	2	4	1	7
12. Providing Assistance		0	0	0
Subtotal	2	6	2	10
		PROACTIVE		
13. Attempts to Stretch	1	12	0	13*
14. Invoking Other Experiences	3	4	1	8*
15. Direct Communication	5	12	0	17*
a. Assertions	1	7	0	8*
b. Questions	3	1	0	4*
c. Solitary Speech	0	0	0	0
d. Factual Statements	1	0	0	1
e. Permission-Asking	0	0	0	0
f. Offering Suggestions	0	4	0	4*
16. Exploring the Environment	3	1	0	4*
Subtotal	12	29	1	42
Child Total	14	35	3	52

Table 3. Frequency of SCAMs in "Structured" and "Open" Patterns Across Contexts

"Structured" Pattern

	Circle 1	R Small Group Activity	D Small Group Activity	Circle 2	R Small Group Story	D Small Group Story	Total	%	
Teacher									
Proactive	63	101	115	17	33	38	367	(42.1%)	
Responsive	32	53	87	12	15	32	231	(26.5%)	
	95	154	202	29	48	70	598	(68.6%)	TOTALS
Children									
Proactive	42	50	43	21	17	15	188	(21.6%)	
Responsive	10	19	33	5	4	14	85	(9.8%)	
	52	69	76	26	21	29	273	(31.4%)	TOTALS
							871		

"Open" Pattern

	Snack	Free Play Blocks	Free Play House	Free Play Quiet	Free Play Tables	Free Play Sand	Total	%	
Teacher									
Proactive	36	12	15	12	48	22	145	(24.2%)	
Responsive	32	9	22	14	74	12	163	(27.2%)	
	68	21	37	26	122	34	308	(51.4%)	TOTALS
Children									
Proactive	19	10	28	23	58	26	164	(27.4%)	
Responsive	30	9	14	10	55	9	127	(21.2%)	
	49	19	42	33	113	35	291	(48.6%)	TOTALS
							599		

Table 4. Frequency of Teacher SCAMs During Table Activity

CATEGORIES	MATERIALS	PROCEDURES	ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS	TOTAL
		PROACTIVE		
1. Planned Event	0	1	0	1
2. Direct Communication	26*	4	7	37
a. Directives	0	1	0	1
b. Explanations	11*	3	2	16
c. Questions	3	0	2	5
d. Reminders	0	0	0	0
e. Giving Choice	4	0	1	5
f. Declarations	1	0	0	1
g. Invitations	3	0	2	5
h. Assertions	4	0	0	4
3. Invoking Other Experiences	1	0	1	2
4. Demonstrations	8	0	0	8
Subtotal	35	5	8	48
		RESPONSIVE		
5. Using Social Resources	5	1	3	9
6. Assistance	25*	2	4	31
a. Physical	2	0	1	3
b. Verbal	6	2	1	9
c. Material	8	0	1	9
d. Mediational	9	0	1	10
7. Seize the Moment	26*	5	3	34
a. Divergencies	2	1	0	3
b. Elicited Guidelines	4	4	1	9
c. Acknowledgements	20*	0	2	22
Subtotal	56	8	10	74
Teacher Total	91*	13	18	122*
8. Doing Life	3	1	13	17

Table 5. Frequency of Child SCAMs During Table Activity

CATEGORIES	MATERIALS	PROCEDURES	ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS	TOTAL
8. Doing Life	3	1	13	17
		RESPONSIVE		
9. Actions Eliciting Guidelines	3	0	0	3
10. Seeking Assistance	7	0	0	7
a. Physical	3	0	0	3
b. Verbal	0	0	0	0
c. Material	4	0	0	4
d. Mediational	0	0	0	0
11. Using Social Resources	26	1	10	37*
12. Providing Assistance	8	0	0	8
Subtotal	44	1	10	55
		PROACTIVE		
13. Attempts to Stretch	7	0	0	7
14. Invoking Other Experiences	0	0	0	0
15. Direct Communication	40	1	5	46
a. Assertions	29	0	4	33*
b. Questions	6	0	0	6
c. Solitary Speech	0	0	0	0
d. Factual Statements	1	0	1	2
e. Permission-Asking	3	1	0	4
f. Offering Suggestions	1	0	0	1
16. Exploring the Environment	5	0	0	5
Subtotal	52	1	5	58

APPENDIX I

Definitions for SCAMs

1. School Culture Actions and Messages (S.C.A.M.s): Actions or messages which communicate school culture meaning(s) and/or cause it to be revealed.

TEACHER SCAMs

1. Planned Event: An event, experience, routine or activity planned by the teacher for the purpose(s) of communicating about life at school (e.g., the puppet show) and/or facilitating life at school (e.g., the clean up bells).

2. Direct Communication: A verbal message from the teacher to a child or children which directly communicates school culture meaning.

   a. Directives: instructions which direct behavior

   b. Explanations and Elaborations: communications which define, explicate, or make understandable an element of school life

   c. Questions

   d. Reminders

   e. Giving Choice: statements which provide the option to do or not to do something, including suggestions

   f. Declarations: verbal accompaniments to teacher action

   g. Invitations: encouragements or enticements to participate or do something in optimal activities

   h. Assertions: statements which have the force of opinion or preference, and reveal intention or need

3. Invoking Other Experiences: A verbal message from the teacher which makes reference to a school or outside school experience (e.g., "Remember the song we sang last year...").

4. Demonstrations: Actions by the teacher which show or demonstrate an aspect of school life (e.g., how to use a material).

5. Using Social Resources: Strategies used by the teacher which enlist children as an aid or support for establishing school culture (e.g., "Charlie, could you show Tommy how to do that puzzle?").

6. Assistance: Help or aid from the teacher to a child(ren).

   a. Physical: Help or aid, delivered through physical means (e.g., ushering, carrying, comforting)

   b. Verbal: Help or aid delivered through verbal means (e.g., giving directions or clarifications).

   c. Material: Help through the provision of materials and objects (e.g., giving scissors or facilitating access to the procedure for their use).

   d. Mediational: Teacher actions to support and facilitate positive social outcomes, problem solving,and safety (e.g., conflict resolution).

7. Seize the Moment: Actions or messages from the teacher which use the opportunity of a present interaction or situation to build (implicitly or explicitly) school culture meaning and understanding.

   a. Divergences: Statements of Guidelines and Expectation made in response to children's actions which move or extend in different directions from the immediate context (e.g., "It's clean-up time now, you can play at the computer later.").

   b. Elicited Guidelines: Statements of guidelines and expectations made in response to children's actions (e.g., "We need to take turns when we talk" said while everyone is talking at once).

   c. Acknowledgements: Verbally highlighting a child action or aspects of a situation involving a child (e.g., "I like how you use blue in your picture.").

Shared SCAMs

8. Doing Life: Aspects and elements of school culture which are isomorphic to aspects and elements of other contexts and are evident from the beginning without being explicitly constructed (e.g., talking at snack, co-playing).

CHILD SCAMs

9. Actions Eliciting Guidelines: Actions or messages by the child(ren) which evoke "seize the moments".

10. Seeking Assistance: Verbal requests or nonverbal elicitations of help by a child to a teacher.

    a. Physical: Requests for teacher help for effectively accomplishing a physical action.

    b. Verbal: Requests for teacher verbal help (e.g., information or directions).

    c. Material: Requests for teacher help in gaining access to a material.

    d. Mediational: Requests for teacher action to support and facilitate positive social outcomes and problem-solving.

11. Using Social Resources: Strategies used by child(ren) which enlist teachers or other children as an aid or support for understanding or affirming school culture (e.g., imitating the action or comments of others, clustering around adults during activities, attention-seeking).

12. Providing Assistance: Help or aid provided by children (e.g., helping at clean-up time; helping another child carry a heavy material).

13. Attempts to Stretch the Range of Action: Attempts by children to diverge from (go beyond) the stated expectations as conformed to by most of the group.

14. Invoking Other Experiences: A verbal message from the

child which makes reference to a school or outside school experience.

15. Direct Communication: A verbal message from the child to a child(ren) or teachers which directly helps a child(ren) make meaning of school culture.

    a. Assertions: statements which have the force of opinion, or preference, and reveal intention or need.

    b. Questions

    c. Solitary Speech: verbal accompaniments to child action which are not directed to anyone else.

    d. Factual Statements

    e. Permission Asking

    f. Offering Suggestions

16. Exploring the Environment: Actions by child(ren) focused on exploring the objects, materials, or space in the school environment (e.g., inspecting, manipulating,and assessing the characteristics of objects through action).